New South

- **The Citizen's Responsibility**
  Marion Wright
- **Actions Must Speak for South**
- **School Boards Must Comply**
- **Race Relations and American Law**
  Reviewed by Leslie Dunbar

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Contents

Everyone Responsible for Applying Principles by Marion A. Wright 3

Actions Must Speak for South . . 10

School Board Must Move Toward Compliance 11

Race Relations and American Law Reviewed by Leslie Dunbar . . 13

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New South Notes

The legal battle to end segregation continues although the main points have been settled. What is to follow these legal principles? Marion A. Wright, vice-president and immediate past president of the Southern Regional Council, gives NEW SOUTH readers some thoughts about what must follow these legal principles. Mr. Wright, a resident of North Carolina, tells us that it is now the responsibility of the average citizen to apply the principles set by the courts' actions. The article is condensed from one of Mr. Wright's recent speeches.

In keeping with Mr. Wright's article, we reprint an editorial from the *Raleigh*, N. C., *Times*, "Actions Must Speak for South," in which the editor tells us that the Southerners themselves must look to their action rather than words in presenting a better picture to the world.

Again in North Carolina, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations has called upon the Charlotte School Board to move toward full compliance with the legal principles in the desegregation decisions. Here, again, is a call for the community responsibility to supplement the legal decisions.

Rounding out NEW SOUTH for this issue is a review of a recent book, *Race Relations and American Law*, by Jack Greenberg. The book was reviewed by Dr. Leslie Dunbar, director of Research of the Southern Regional Council.

Everyone Is Responsible For Applying Principles

By MARION A. WRIGHT
Vice-President Southern Regional Council

Dr. Edward Teller, one of the nation's better brains, recently made two somber predictions. He said flatly that within 10 years Russia would have outstripped this nation in all major fields of science, and that by the year 2000, Russian ideas would probably prevail throughout the world.

Whether it is good or bad for mankind as a whole to embrace Russian, rather than American, principles will not depend upon their national origin. Principles have no right to survive just because they are labelled "Made in America." The triumph of one set of principles, one view of the relationship of citizen and state, over another will depend in the long run upon relative merit.

All human progress, all of what we call civilization, has come about because of comparison of concepts, because of the ability of men to discriminate between what serves them well and what serves them ill. The life and growth of society has been not logic but experience.

In this competition between systems there is one goal for which we may strive. It is the goal about which we hear most. It is to surpass the Russians. That is, I submit, a goal unworthy of a great nation. This implies that we are engaged in a kind of foot race for a blue ribbon as prize and that the race is worth the running so long as we come out first.

Are we not stirred by far more lofty motives if we conceive the national mission to be the development and dissemination of ideas and principles designed to improve the human lot? Under such a concept, the impelling force is not the fairly primitive urge to win but is the spiritual urge to lift all men an inch nearer to the stars.

So we must be concerned, first, with what our principles are, and next with how we exhibit them to the world. Under modern conditions, it is not enough to build a better mouse trap. The image of a nation which is exhibited to the rest of the world, rather than what it says about itself, determines its impact.

For example only, and merely scratching the surface of principles we proudly call American, there are equality of all men before the law; equality of opportunity; freedom from burdens or penalties because of race; the zeal of the law to protect the humblest man from despotic power; freedom of speech and all the other freedoms.

Certainly, those principles have given the nation character and direction. They

Principles

(Continued)

have contributed to our nation's greatness. We have no intention of abandoning them or retreating one inch from them.

But we are concerned with the national image we exhibit. That image is not a composite of abstractions. If so, we would have an easy task. The Voice of America would beam the words of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln and other noble spirits around the world. Of course, we would have to be selective in broadcasting even the words of our leader—that is, we would have to choose our authors. For we must remember that men like Senator Eastland, Senator Thurmond, and Senator McCarthy have also spoken on these fundamentals.

But we would be naive to assume that the world will judge us by the words of our leaders, good or bad. What counts is not words but deeds. If events negate claims, events will have the ear and attention of the rest of the world.

Image Exhibited

This brings us to the matter of how we apply our principles. If they are correctly, fairly and honorably applied, the image we exhibit is one of consistency and resolution, of determination to put into practice the noble sentiments we have so proudly proclaimed.

This is peculiarly the field of the private citizen. The eloquent expression of a principle is the task of the political leader, or publicist, or intellectual. Translating these pronouncements into reality is the job of inconspicuous men and women who labor unnoticed at their thankless occupations. But by putting flesh upon the bare bones of principles, they perform a task essential to giving perspective to the picture of a nation.

A field for employment of the gifts of the private citizen is now opening in certain areas of the South.

State Statutes

I am sure that few persons doubt that most of the legal devices contrived to defeat segregation of the public schools will be declared unconstitutional. In certain states, however, the statutes were held to be constitutional on their face. The court specifically held open the question of constitutionality in application.

The statutes in question grant to local school boards authority to assign pupils upon the basis of certain factors. The word "race" is studiedly omitted from these factors, though, I feel sure, anyone of us above the moronic level knows it is the controlling factor. Certainly, the officials know it since they have publicly patted their backs until raw over their cleverness in devising such a scheme.

We may be sure other resistant or reluctant states will now follow the examples of North Carolina and Alabama.

So the question of assignment of pupils under the acts is now a practical one. The question will be answered initially by the local school board. Normally such board members are known to residents of the district. To express to them an opinion as to their duty requires no trip away from home, no intermediary or advocate. Communication may be personal and direct.

These circumstances present to the local citizen the truly golden opportu-

nity to strike a blow for liberty—and I don't mean what you may be thinking of.

If he is fed up with evasion and subterfuge and does not wish to see the application of the statute attended by the hypocrisy which surrounded its enactment, he will take steps to place his views before the board.

Remember, the image we present of this nation will not be manufactured out of statutes which *seem* fair upon their face; it will be manufactured out of events showing how the statutes operate. When North Carolina, for example, uses the statute to admit only 11 Negro pupils into white schools, its conduct is not reassuring as to its bona fides. It is conduct strikingly in contrast with the national claims.

So, as to the desegregation issue generally, we have, in the last five years, been living through the period of conflict over strictly legal issues. Broadly stated, this was conflict over principles of government. The Southern view was that a caste system is compatible with democracy. The view that prevailed was that the caste system is not compatible with democratic principles, and that, under the 14th Amendment, no state may legally enforce such a system. A whole majestic series of decisions reveals the will and conscience of the court.

Application

For the next decade certainly, we will be living in the period of application of principle. In that field the will and conscience of the *people*, as distinguished from the court, will be revealed.

The rest of the world will not be content merely to read judicial opinions and conclude "This Is America." It will read headlines, it will examine statistics, it will heed the voice of events, and conclude "This Is America."

No one, of course, may legitimately disparage the profound importance of judicial opinions; but the opinions which will have impact upon mankind are fashioned by average men and women. They will reflect the thinking, the attitudes, the principles, of the anonymous citizen.

Little Rock

Some weeks ago, the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the Louisiana statute forbidding boxing between opponents of different races. That was another judicial blow at discrimination and will be hailed by all Americans who are truly democratic.

On the same day the voters of Little Rock struck their own blow at discrimination—this time, in the field of public education. Theirs was the blow that will be felt around the world. In that election the average citizen of Little Rock put Southern politicians upon notice that the voter has his own principles which he will not forever forego. In that election, we heard the real voice of the nation.

So all individual concepts of principles will be tossed into the national hopper and from their blending the real national principles will emerge. Upon the quality of those composite principles will depend their survival in competition with rival ideologies.

So, then, the role of the private citizen is vastly enlarged. The contest is no longer between Thurgood Marshall and Senator Byrd. The struggle of the Titans is ended; the struggle of the Lilliputians begins.

Principles

(Continued)

I call your attention to a sharp reversal of our usual concepts of the functions of a leader. The view which Thomas Jefferson announced was that a political leader actually led; that he was ahead of the thinking of his day and, by force of intelligence, character and personality, he informed his constituency and elevated it to something approaching his own superior standards.

In a sentence, we may fairly dismiss the political leadership of most of the South on the desegregation issue with the comment that it was insensitive to the pressures and necessities of this age and was geared to the thinking of the 1860's.

With what results?

For sheer venality there was nothing in the annals of Reconstruction to equal the legislation spawned and concocted throughout the South for the sole purpose of depriving some millions of people of their constitutional rights. And this example from high official source has begotten the ugly brood of violence and bloodshed which have brought disgrace upon an entire region.

Virginia Leaders

We have had in Virginia and elsewhere, a political leadership which not merely did not lead, but which actually retarded normal adjustment to the inevitable. In mechanical terms, what these leaders supplied was not motive power, but brakes; not sail, but anchor.

This bankruptcy of leadership forces upon us the reversal of our concepts to which I have referred. The impulse to progress, instead of moving from the leader to the citizen must now move from the citizen to the leader. The citizen, by force of his own intelligence, character, and personality, must now elevate the leader.

Leadership Failure

This failure of political leadership has occurred not merely upon the state level. If the leadership there has been vicious and depraved, it has, on the national level, been bumbling and inept.

The press conference is the president's most effective means of getting his views to the American people. Have you kept up with the reports of these conferences on the desegregation issue? Without regard to such trivia as grammar and syntax, subject and predicate, have you detected one word or note of strong moral leadership? When the nation has begged for bread what stones have been given it!

When repeatedly asked his opinion of the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the President's replies have run the gamut from it didn't matter what he thought —surely the very limit in abnegation —to the statement that he may have privately told friends that desegregation should proceed more slowly. That, at a time when seven states had not moved an inch in four years! To move more slowly than that you must go backward. How many times have we been treated to the inane platitude, delivered with an air of great profundity, that you can't legislate morals!

So, into this vacuum created by absence of state and national leadership the private citizen perforce must move. Perhaps this is not all bad. It revives and strengthens the conception that, in a democracy, he is the ultimate reposi-

tory of power. Thereby it adds to his stature and dignity. It further accentuates the point that, while in the field of politics *per se*, the superior capacity of experienced officials may be conceded, in the field of morals each one of us carries his credentials in his heart.

The legal rights of Negro children are now established. The period of quibbling and evasion, insofar as the law is concerned, has run its course. With unparalleled faith in human nature, the court has assumed that the pupil assignment statutes will be fairly administered—that school officials will completely disregard the color of children in determining to which school they will be sent. The question now becomes one of good faith; in other words, one of morals. Here John Doe and Mary Smith may throw their weight around.

This shift of emphasis from law or politics to morals is one of the striking phenomena of the times. Both law and politics require special skills, special competence. That requirement disqualified the layman from full participation in the making of major decisions affecting the public schools. Necessarily he was side-lined while the battle raged. But in the struggle's aftermath, in the grassroots adjudication of the right of a neighbor's boy or girl to go to a nearby school, no one of us is so insignificant that he may not influence the result.

Justice

Consider for a moment the import of such adjudications. The school board of Charlottesville, for example, is an arm, or agency, or creature, of the state. It exercises a fractional part of the state's sovereign power. Its decisions, wise or unwise, good or bad, will be regarded in this country as an expression, not of Charlottesville, but of Virginia, sense of justice. And abroad, no note will be taken of Charlottesville *or* Virginia. There they will be regarded as an expression of American sense of justice. What happened at Little Rock, for example, is not used by the Russians to discredit that city or Arkansas, but to defame the United States.

National Prestige

Such, then, is the momentous nature of every decision affecting a lone Negro youth seeking admittance to a white school. If there is a formerly white school near his home, but he is sent across the city or county to a Negro school, there is a stain upon the national honor. If, however, it should develop that assignment is made upon the basis of distance and other proper considerations, without regard to race, Virginia and national prestige are enhanced.

Lest it should be thought that foreign opinion of Virginia's fairness and sense of public honor should be over-emphasized—I doubt that it is *possible* to over-emphasize it—let us reflect for a moment upon the internal effect of decisions such as we have mentioned.

If experience should demonstrate that the Supreme Court's trust in the fairness of administration of assignment statutes should be misplaced, what moral consequences would ensue?

Every Negro child improperly denied admission to a desegregated school knows in his heart of hearts that he has been betrayed by his state. What a reservoir of bitterness would be built up in the minds of future adults! Is wide-

Principles

(Continued)

spread bitterness a good foundation upon which to rear a great state?

Every white child receiving special treatment and consideration because he is white tends to acquire the conviction that rewards are inherent in color and that they flow from sharp practice. Is a widespread attachment to such a standard of values a good foundation upon which to rear a great state?

There is a moral aspect to the legal maneuvers already employed. The qualities upon which the resisting states relied were cunning, slickness, shrewdness. Such were the qualities magnified in the public mind and held up as ideals before young lawyers and politicians. They are no substitutes for brain, intelligence and character. The truly great lawyer or statesman is not slick or shrewd, he is profound.

We say that a state maintains schools. But vastly more important than the schools it *maintains* is the school which the state itself *is*. The fine precepts of the classroom mean but little when contrasted with the effect of a state's official policy. If the policy be tinctured and tainted with deviousness and chicanery, the lesson will not be lost upon the youthful citizen.

Now that certain states have gotten around to application of pupil assignment statutes, let us hope that the original felony will not be compounded and that the average citizen's sense of justice and fairness will set the state again upon an honorable course.

We have lived through five years of legislation, litigation and liquidation of much of our public school system. Who among us has not breathed a sigh of relief that, apparently, that sordid era draws to a close? We should be on guard that we do not enter upon another.

We are relieved because there now seems ground for hope that the tragic dissipation of the energies of state governments may be at an end. I have no way of proving it, but I think you will agree that far more than half of the time, thought, effort and energy of our governors, legislators and public officials generally has been devoted to shoring up the shaky edifice of segregation. That item has been No. 1 on any political or legislative agenda. Education, science, the arts, the humanities—all of those functions of government which tend to improve the lot of the citizen—have been relegated to secondary position. What matters it that a man is poorly fed, or clothed, or housed, or unemployed, or his children poorly educated, or justice poorly administered, in face of the dire threat that young people of both races shall together learn that two times two equals four?

All of this blood, sweat, tears and toil have been spent, essentially, to see that a white child and a Negro child do not, side by side, learn their ABC's or the multiplication table.

It might be possible to ascertain the dollars actually poured down this rat hole, though I am not sure how it would be done. But the greater losses are indirect, and not measurable in dollars. The other American states move forward on many fronts while we mark time. They strengthen their school systems to meet the demands of this age. They build up their public libraries. They enlarge their parks. They

strengthen their public health services. They do all of this while we debate—debate who shall go to school with whom; how to keep certain people out of our libraries and out of our parks. When it comes to public health, one of our states took time out to fire a white public health doctor for eating with a Negro nurse. Another has a requirement that donations to the blood bank shall be accompanied by certification of the color of the donor.

Surely with the legal issues settled for all time, the state governments may now cease frittering away their energies upon ignoble enterprises and apply them to legitimate and appropriate governmental concerns.

And what of you and me as individuals?

We, too, may now, at last, apply our own energies to constructive ends.

We may let school boards know that we expect them to deserve the faith expressed by the Supreme Court that they will disregard race in pupil assignments.

We may applaud them when fairness is evident and rebuke them when it is lacking.

Other Duties

We may let police officers know that they will be held to strict accountability for safety of Negro pupils and members of their families.

We may support teachers in maintaining discipline on the campus.

We may open Parent-Teacher Associations to Negro members, not as an act of grace, but as an act of simple justice.

We may, also as simple justice, secure Negro membership on school boards.

We may teach our children to receive the new-comers with warmth and codiality and appreciation for the ordeals they have so nobly borne.

We may express to Negro parents our admiration for the ambition they have for their children and for their own spartan courage in braving the community's hostility.

Public Interest

In one sense these are but trivial acts. They will receive no headlines. The actors will remain anonymous. But, in these pendulous times, even the trivial deed is affected and charged with a public interest. Upon such deeds may hang the destiny of this nation, the fate of mankind.

The nation has been treated to few spectacles more thrilling than the recent assertion of the moral power of the private citizen. We may perhaps thank Governor Faubus and Senator Byrd for prodding the citizen into this self-revelation, into this calm assertion of his essential decency.

When those two characters made it apparent that the public schools may be closed, the silent became vocal, the hesitant became bold. Teachers, risking their careers, have challenged the prevailing lunacy. Ministers in the eye and vortex of the storm have confronted evil with the zeal of the ancient prophets. Editors risking circulation and income have denounced the destructive tendencies of the times. As you in Virginia well know, Parent-Teacher Associations have asserted their own profound convictions. Thus is demonstrated the inherent moral strength of the anonymous individual.

Principles

(Continued)

We have referred to the Supreme Court's faith in school boards. I hope it is not invidious to point out that a democracy rests upon a faith more sublime. It is a faith in the sense of honor, the decency, of the average man.

To the extent that those qualities are non-existent or anemic, democracy fails. To the extent that they are present and vital, democracy succeeds. The measure of its success is the zeal of the state to safeguard the rights of the weak.

The test of the honorable and decent citizen is his willingness to grant obedience to the unenforceable, to move in response to inner compulsions.

Nothing offers greater hope for the future of this commonwealth than proof that its men and women now act in response to such imperatives.

Actions Must Speak for South

From The Raleigh Times

A Florida legislator has a plan for "The Voice of the Southern States," a "gigantic public relations program to present the Southern way of life to the rest of the nation."

Maybe that would be a good idea, though it would have as many ramifications as there are Southerners, particularly when it came to defining just exactly what the Southern way of life might be.

The South does need a press agent. For example, it will be a long, long time before the South even begins to recover from just one sentence uttered by a man questioned by the FBI in the Poplarville lynching. That man said he couldn't understand all that fuss over a damned 10-cent n—r. It would take a lot of press-agenting to get across to the world the actual truth: That so very few Southerners have any such idea as to the value of any human life.

It will be a long, long time before the South gets over some of the things Faubus has done. After all, Faubus was reelected, and that should indicate to the world that at least part of the South not only understood what Faubus had said and had done, but subscribed to his words and to his actions.

Of course, that 10-cent man in Poplarville and Faubus in Arkansas don't represent the South, any more than the racketeers represent the areas of the North they dominate. Yet, to many Southerners, Chicago and New York are places completely under the heel of racketeers, just as to many Northerners, the South is a place dominated by the Poplarvilles and the Faubuses.

It wouldn't hurt for the South to have a press agent. But, in the words of the Florida legislator, "the program would have to be one of truth and completely sincere."

And, until the South and all its people do realize that actions speak louder than words, there is little a press agent could do. And, once we do realize that, we won't need a press agent.

School Board Must Move Toward Full Compliance

Statement by Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council for Human Relations

Two years ago the Charlotte School Board proceeded with wisdom and courage to move forward toward compliance with the Supreme Court decision concerning the desegregation of public schools. This move was applauded in many quarters, and was accepted calmly by the vast majority of the people of Charlotte.

Today, it seems increasingly clear that initial token desegregation, rather than paving the way for future compliance, is becoming a means of evasion of the law. It is difficult to arrive at any other conclusion when we realize that both state and federal laws require that pupils be assigned to schools without regard to race or color. With only two or three exceptions, Negro and white students are consistently assigned to Negro and white schools respectively, and this could not possibly happen if assignments were made according to the letter and spirit of the law. Such a policy, conceivably, may be more harmful to the values of our society than no compliance at all, for it sets up an apparently respectable front behind which the law is ignored.

We write because of our deep concern about the implications of this situation as it affects the attitudes and values held by the people of our community. For is it not a primary purpose of our educational system to teach democracy and fair play, respect for the law, and regard for the rights of one's fellow citizens?

The Supreme Court has ruled that

Compliance

(Continued)

enforced segregation of pupils is wrong because it places a minority group of children under a label of inferiority which may affect their thinking and their feelings for the rest of their lives. The court has ordered only that we remove this stigma, and assign all children on the same basis, without regard to race.

In Charlotte, compliance with the law would mean the assignment of a very small percentage of our Negro pupils to currently white schools. And it is quite probable that, given a free choice, many of these Negro children would choose to return to their former schools. But the important thing would be that no longer would we say to any child that, because of the color of his skin, he cannot attend the school to which he would normally be assigned.

Token desegregation, as we have it in Charlotte today, with one Negro child assigned to each of two formerly all-white schools, grossly violates the principle of equal protection of the law. Consider the fact that these children, in order to enjoy the rights to which they are legally entitled, must submit to public interrogation, must walk alone without the benefit of friends and neighbors, down a long, hostile road to a "white" school which remains white in every sense of the word. Consider also that their parents found it necessary to spend an exhausting amount of time and money, and to run the gantlet of administrative procedure, in order to enjoy the rights of free citizenship.

To do these things to fellow citizens of our community is to deny the basic concepts of justice and democracy which we teach our children in our churches and schools. If these concepts are to have meaning, they must be respected and practiced before the eyes of those we would have learn them.

For these reasons we earnestly request that the School Board move forward with the same wisdom and courage it displayed two years ago, toward full compliance with the state and federal laws. We recommend that the Board call in concerned leaders of our community, Negro and white, and work with them in good faith toward a plan of desegregation which will not only meet the requirements of the law, but preserve the best traditions of our community.

Prejudice Can Be Ridiculous

From Milwaukee Journal

Prejudice is emotional. Emotion is frequently irrational.

Was there ever a better example than that offered in Madison this week by four labor officials from Ghana, in blackest Africa?

They found that when they wore American clothes in some parts of this country they ran into racial discrimination, were barred frequently from restaurants.

When they put on their colorful Ghana robes they encountered no discrimination or hostility anywhere.

Ridiculous, isn't it?

Race Relations And American Law

Reviewed by LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Director of Research Southern Regional Council

***Race Relations and American Law*, by Jack Greenberg (Columbia University Press, 1959); 481 pages, $10.00.**

Here is a book which will be an indispensable tool to all who act or speak about race relations in the United States. Essentially a textbook, it deals, however, with a subject which we must all learn. I do not see how in the future one can venture to speak to any of the practical —as distinct from moral—issues of race relations without first "looking up Greenberg." *Race Relations and American Law* does not provide full-bodied discussion of any of the great cases or statutes, not even *Brown v. Topeka;* it is, rather, a comprehensive survey, analysis, and interpretation of the present state of the law.

In a review of a treatise as detailed as this one, it is impossible to do more than sample the contents. Perhaps a more or less random mention of some conclusions and insights will give sufficient indication of Mr. Greenberg's methods. There is, for instance, the passage (p. 20) which raises a deeply disturbing problem, and proposes a radical solution:

> . . . a decree against one school district or park is enforceable against it alone. If others will not comply voluntarily, they must be sued separately. . . The antidiscrimination commissions of some Northern jurisdictions which enforce civil rights laws exemplify the best means of overcoming the problems of legal inefficiency.

Or, to sample another ingredient of the book, there is a brief, but skillfully drawn history (pp. 34-39) of "what might be called the NAACP program" of legal attack. In another place, (p. 239), Mr. Greenberg's method of looking at race relations law as a whole yields one of his several intriguing analogies. Discussing the constitutional validity of token desegregation, which leaves the Negro schools still all-Negro, he raises questions based on the law as already stated in regard to waiting rooms and jury selection. In this same context, Mr. Greenberg takes his stand on what is the basic unsettled question coming out of *Brown v. Topeka.* Does that decision merely protect the right of an individual child to be admitted, without regard to race, to a school, or does it order an end to segregated education? Mr. Greenberg's answer is clear: "The right to desegregated education should be the right to attend school in a system

in which no racial standards are employed." It is well that he says "should be," for as yet the courts have followed the narrower interpretation of *Brown v. Topeka.*

Two final samplings may show the range of the book. In reference to miscegenation laws, Mr. Greenberg moves well-ahead of the actual law to declare (p. 345), "There is no doubt that these statutes are unconstitutional." And in discussing the success of integration in the armed forces he observes (p. 369), with the shrewdness that frequently characterizes his insights, "Rarely are people required to act in a social context in which they can refer so little to the folkways in which they were brought up."

Non-lawyers as well as lawyers could with profit read the excellent presentation of the "state action" concept on pages 46-61. We are moving rapidly to the day when the further advance of civil rights in Southern states may well depend on what we do with or about private schools; or the sale of public recreational facilities to private persons; or the legal status of the voting registrars; or the prerogatives of restaurant keeper, real estate operator, and a host of others who administer the customs of Southern society. Mr. Greenberg closes his discussion with the second *Girard* case, wherein segregation was allowed at the famous Philadelphia school after its conveyance to private trustees; the Supreme Court gave no reasons for its dismissal of the appeal. In Pennsylvania Negroes vote freely and enjoy full civil rights. This leads Mr. Greenberg to speculation in which we all might join:

> Does *Girard* portend that when or where the inequalities which Negroes suffer become no greater than those which life inevitably visits upon people at large—that is, when Negroes are able to defend themselves in the political arena without the disadvantages of special discriminations—then the courts may drop what seems to be a special alert? . . . Perhaps it is tautologous to say that the courts will stop protecting minority rights when those rights no longer need protection.

It is more than a little paradoxical that the improvement of race relations, involving as it does so much moral and religious idealsm, has yielded the huge mass of law which Mr. Greenberg presents. In fact, throughout American history, race relations have been as much a matter of law as custom. We are now in a new era of law-making, although the South is as yet untouched.

It is the period of anti-discrimination commissions, and of what Mr. Greenberg calls "affirmative integration." These new laws and policies of the Northern States and cities are a liberal victory, though it is well to remember that whenever law is brought to the aid of human relations, the coercive spirit comes along. Mr. Greenberg is probably right in predicting (p. 371) that, "the legal momentum against racial bias will accumulate and intensify." It is the liberal's responsibility to see that it does, and also to see that it does not obscure the thin line between the pursuit of an ideal, and the intolerance of private desires.

With this Mr. Greenberg, who has written an immensely helpful book, would, I am sure, agree.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"In harmony with the Christian imperative the highest court in the land has spoken concerning policies in public education. Methodists, as law abiding citizens, are faced with the challenge and task of creatively meeting these imminent responsibilities. To this end we must establish, cultivate and maintain lines of communication within the local church and the general community. For this communication we need a new vocabulary. Beyond this we must encourage the translation of the Christian imperative and the legal decisions into practice."

Methodist Conference on Human Relations
From "The Message"

• • •

"I am afraid we must now concede that although these [massive resistance] laws may have postponed the inevitable day in some situations, they were far from conducive to an orderly solution of the problem and have probably done more harm than good . . . ."

John S. Battle, Jr., Attorney,
Charlottesville, Va., School Board
Quoted in *The Virginian-Pilot*

• • •

"This condition of educational deprivation and idleness in [Prince Edward County, Virginia,] is so at odds with the primary obligations of modern society that it will grow increasingly uncomfortable for the conscience of Virginia. It is *there*, and it will become worse, until it is solved."

From the *Virginian-Pilot*

"We believe that a sound system of free public schools is the surest foundation and greatest hope for a free society. We further believe that consistent and deliberate effort should be made to improve the character and quality of education for all children and youth in the commonwealth."

The Virginia Association of
School Administrators
Quoted in the *Washington Post*

• • •

"We urge parents, teachers and the citizens in general to dedicate themselves to the task of teaching youths the competencies which will enable them to compete effectively in this society and to strive for their inclusion in all the experiences which society provides."

Virginia Teachers Association
Quoted by Associated Press

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"The solution to our crisis in education came as it had to from the community leaders—the top business, professional and educational people—best represented by the Chamber of Commerce . . . I think the Atlanta chamber has a responsibility to be completely informed on this issue so that it will be in a position to provide leadership. Preventing interruption of public education is completely dependent on the community's leaders."

Boyd Ridgeway,
Executive,
Little Rock Chamber of Commerce
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*